

Message Text

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PAGE 01 MADRID 07736 051748Z

41

ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 EURE-00 SSO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04

H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02

SS-15 USIA-06 SAJ-01 SAM-01 ACDA-05 IO-10 OMB-01 AF-06

NEA-10 /093 W

----- 012203

P 051617Z NOV 75

FM AMEMBASSY MADRID

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 3542

C O N F I D E N T I A L MADRID 7736

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT, SP

SUBJECT: THE TRANSITION: VIEWS OF A LEADER OF FEDISA AND TACITO

SUMMARY: EMBOFFS TALKED YESTERDAY WITH MARCELINO OREJA, A FIGURE IN THE NOW FADING "FEDISA" AS WELL AS A LEADER OF THE "TACITO" POLITICAL STUDY GROUP WHICH WRITES A WEEKLY COLUMN IN "YA". OREJA, A NATIONAL COUNCILOR, IS ONE OF THE MORE IMPORTANT YOUNGER ESTABLISHMENT APERTURISTAS AND IS WELL CONNECTED WITH BOTH MOTRICO AND GRAGA. HE WAS QUITE HOPEFUL THAT THE PRINCE, AS KING, COULD CARRY OFF AN OPENING THAT WOULD LEAD TO A DEMOCRATIC SPAIN LINKED TO WESTERN EUROPE. THE PRIME MINISTERS RACE NARROWED DOWN TO ARIAS, MOTRICO, FRAGA, OR FERNANDEZ MIRANDA. AND THE PROGRAM HAD TO PERMIT THE DEMOCRATIC POLITICAL OPPOSITION - BUT NOT THE COMMUNISTS - TO FUNCTION PLUS LIMITED CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGE RESULTING IN A "CORTES" ELECTED BY UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE. END SUMMARY

1. OREJA WAS QUITE HOPEFUL THAT THE PRINCE, WHOSE STOCK HAD RISEN BECAUSE OF HIS SAHARA VISIT, WOULD BE ABLE TO CARRY OFF AN OPENING THAT WOULD LEAD TO A DEMOCRATIC SPAIN THAT MESHED WITH THE REST OF WESTERN EUROPE. HE THOUGHT FRAGS'S OFT-QUOTED PHRASE THAT "SPAIN WAS DIFFERENT" WAS UNFORTUNATE. THE TASK NOW WAS TO PROVE THAT SPAIN WAS NOT THAT
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 MADRID 07736 051748Z

DIFFERENT AND COULD BECOME A MODERN WESTERN SOCIETY.

2. IN HIS VIEW, THE CHOICE OF A GOVT AND ITS PROGRAM WAS CENTRAL, THE LATTER EVEN MORE SO. BUT THE CHOICE OF A PRIME MINISTER WOULD HAVE CONSIDERABLE SYMBOLIC IMPORTANCE, E.G., A RODRIGUEZ DE VALCARCEL, BE HIS INTENTIONS ALL ELSE, WOULD PROJECT A DISASTROUS IMAGE. AND THE RETENTION OF ARIAS AND HIS WHOLE CABINET EXCEPT FOR MINOR CHANGES WOULD NOT DO THE TRICK EITHER. BASICALLY, THE REAL OPTIONS LAY IN RETAINING ARIAS AT THE HEAD OF A BROADENED AND POLITICALLY RESTRUCTURED CABINET, BRINGING IN A NEW IMAGE AS PRIME MINISTER (IN THIS SENSE THERE WERE ONLY TWO POSSIBILITIES, MOTRICO OR FRAGA) OR PICK A REGIME DARK HORSE AND HERE THE CHOICE NARROWED DOWN PRETTY MUCH TO FERNANDEZ MIRANDA BECAUSE OF THE PRINCE'S GENUINE RESPECT AND AFFECTION FOR HIS FORMER TUTOR.

3. OREJA THOUGHT FERNANDEZ MIRANDA A TALKER RATHER THAN A DOER. THE PRINCE WOULD CERTAINLY FIND A PLACE FOR HIM, EITHER IN THE GOVT, OR PERHAPS, AS HEAD OF THE "CORTES", BUT OREJA HOPED THE PRINCE WOULD NOT CHOOSE HIM AS PRIME MINISTER. OREJA IMPLIED A PREFERENCE FOR THE NEW IMAGE BUT RECOGNIZED ARIAS' RETENTION WAS A LIVE POSSIBILITY, ALTHOUGH ARIAS HIMSELF MIGHT WISH TO LEAVE. OF THE TWO "NEW IMAGE" MEN, MOTRICO'S STOCK IN THE LAST 10 DAYS HAD RISEN, TO A DEGREE OREJA WOULD HAVE THOUGHT QUITE UNLIKELY, WHAT HAD HAPPENED IS THAT THE DISTRUST AND RESERVE AMONG THE REGIME POLITICAL FIGURES FOR ONE OF THEIR OWN, FRAGA, HAD MADE THEM QUITE WARY OF FRAGA. AT THE SAME TIME, FRAGA'S STOCK WAS HIGHER IN THE MILITARY BECAUSE OF HIS AUTHORITARIAN IMAGE.

4. OREJA SAID THAT REGARDLESS OF WHO BECAME PRIME MINISTER THE MAIN POLITICAL TASKS WERE PRETTY CLEAR;
-- A. PROVIDE A SYSTEM IN WHICH THE DEMOCRATIC POLITICAL OPPOSITION COULD FUNCTION, PERHAPS BY LETTING THEM INCORPORATE UNDER THE OLD 1964 ASSOCIATIONS LAW;
--- B. MOVE TOWARD CONSTITUTIONAL REFORM PERHAPS BY THE FORMATION OF A COMMITTEE OF RESPECTED FIGURES THAT WOULD PROPOSE CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS THAT WOULD EVENTUALLY RESULT IN A "CORTES" ELECTED BY UNIVERSAL
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 MADRID 07736 051748Z

SUFFRAGE, WITH THE ELECTIONS TO TAKE PLACE IN SIX MONTHS;
-- C. A REFORM IN THE HUMAN RIGHTS AREA TO PROVIDE FOR MORE DUE PROCESS.
OREJA MADE THE IMPORTANT DISTINCTION BETWEEN A COMPLETE CONSTITUTIONAL OVERHAUL WHICH WOULD PROVOKE RIGHTIST REACTION AND A PROCESS OF AMENDMENT OF SALIENT PORTIONS SUBMITTED TO THE PEOPLE (AS REQUIRED BY THE BASIC LAWS) BY REFERENDUM. IN THIS WAY, TWO GOALS COULD BE MET: (A) THE DEMOCRATIZATION

OF THE REGIME, AND (B) THE POPULAR LEGITIMIZATION OF JUAN CARLOS' REIGN -- A NECESSARY REQUISITE -- WITHOUT A DANGEROUS VOTE ON THE EXPLICIT ISSUE OF THE MONARCHY ITSELF.

5. THE FALANGISTS WERE A REAL FORCE THAT WOULD NOT JUST GO AWAY AFTER THE SUCCESSION. THEY WOULD PERSIST IN STRUCTURES OF INFLUENCE - SUCH AS THE SYNDICATES. TO MOVE THE NATIONAL MOVEMENT OUT OF THE CENTER OF THE POLITICAL PROCESS REQUIRED RETENTION OF ESSENTIALLY MEANINGLESS PRIVILEGES AND POSITIONS, E.G., THE NATIONAL COUNCIL -- POWERLESS NOW -- SHOULD BE RETAINED (INCLUDING THE 40 MEMBERS APPOINTED BY FRANCO) LIKE A HOUSE OF LORDS SO THAT FALANGISTS WOULD NOT THINK THEIR WHOLE WORLD WAS BEING OVERTURNED.

4. TO HAVE A FREE POLITICAL PLAY OF FORCES REQUIRED A FREE PRESS. THE COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN THE MEDIA WAS SIGNIFICANT BUT THE RISK WOULD BE REDUCED WHEN THEY STARTED COMING OUT INTO THE OPEN AND IT BECAME OBVIOUS WHICH PUBLICATIONS FOLLOWED THE PCE LINE. (OREJA WAS A DIRGEN FOR INFORMATION IN THE MINISTRY OF INFORMATION AND TOURISM.) AT THE SAME TIME, OREJA TOTALLY DISTRUSTED THE COMMUNISTS AND SAW NO PRACTICAL OR THEORETICAL REASON FOR PERMITTING THEM TO ENTER THE POLITICAL LISTS DURING THE TRANSITION. PERHAPS LATER ON THEY MIGHT BE LEGALIZED. ABOVE ALL, NEITHER THE MILITARY NOR THE BUNKER WOULD ACCEPT COMMUNIST PARTICIPATION, TO TRY WOULD SIMPLY UNDERMINE APERTURISMO.

7. BY THE SAME TOKEN, HE WAS SURE FROM THE TACITO GROUP'S WIDE-RANGING CONTACTS WITH THE DEMOCRATIC OPPOSITION THAT THEY WOULD GIVE JUAN CARLOS A CHANCE AND CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 MADRID 07736 051748Z

WERE EAGER TO GET OUT INTO THE OPEN AS POLITICAL PARTIES. FEDISA, WITH TWO WOULD-BE PRIME MINISTERS, AND A COLLECTION OF PERSONALITIES HAD PROBABLY PASSED THE HISTORIC MOMENT FOR WHICH IT WAS DESIGNED - TO OPPOSE THE SCHEME OF POLITICAL ASSOCIATIONS.

8. OREJA SUGGESTED THAT JUAN CARLOS MIGHT BE CLOSER IN TEMPERAMENT TO THE MILITARY THAN TO CIVILIANS. HIS CIVILIAN EDUCATION WAS AN ON AGAIN, OFF AGAIN VARIETY, BUT HIS MILITARY EDUCATION IN THE SERVICE SCHOOLS WAS MORE STRUCTURED, AND HE HAS CLOSE PERSONAL TIES WITH THE MILITARY. AT ALL EVENTS, HE WAS AWARE THAT CHANGE COULD NOT SUCCEED WITHOUT MILITARY BACKING AND WOULD TAKE INTO ACCOUNT THEIR OPINIONS. OREJA SAID HE THOUGHT THE PRINCE WOULD APPOINT A MILITARY MAN AS FIRST VICE PRESIDENT,

NOT DIEZ-ALEGRIA BUT PERHAPS GUTIERREZ MELLADO.
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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: PERSONAL OPINION, GOVERNMENT REFORM, POLITICAL LEADERS, POLITICAL SITUATION
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 05 NOV 1975
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: ElyME
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1975MADRID07736
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D750384-0717
From: MADRID
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1975/newtext/t19751172/aaaacmue.tel
Line Count: 171
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 4
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: ElyME
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 18 JUN 2003
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <18 JUN 2003 by MartinML>; APPROVED <29 OCT 2003 by ElyME>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
06 JUL 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: THE TRANSITION: VIEWS OF A LEADER OF FEDISA AND TACITO SUMMARY: EMBOFFS TALKED YESTERDAY WITH MARCELINO OREJA, A
TAGS: PINT, SP, (OREJA, MARCELINO)
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 06 JUL 2006